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ABSTRACT

These three annotated reading guides were developed for courses offered at the Boston Public Library under the National Endowment for the Humanities Learning Library Program. The permutations in style and content of black Boston literature are exemplified in this collection of 18 writings to serve as an index to the cultural and social life of the Boston community, both black and white. The 16 selections in the second set are illustrative of the cultural triumphs of nineteenth century Boston and also of its failure to sustain a healthy, unified culture under the pressure of social change in the latter part of the century. The third listing of 63 readings shows the impact of the immigrants on Boston's existing institutions, values, and patterns of living, the mediation of tension normative to a multiethnic society, and the expansion of the definition of Bostonian. (RAA)

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Boston An Urban Community

Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Hugh M. Jenkins
with the assistance of
the Boston Public
Library Staff

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Boston Public Library, 1977

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FOREWORD

The Boston Public Library is pleased to present a series of annotated reading guides as a follow-up to the lectures in its NEH Learning Library Program, "Boston: An Urban Community."

The Library's program has been developed under the Cultural Institutions Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a new national program whose purpose is to help libraries, museums and other cultural institutions become centers of formal humanities education for their communities. An advisory committee, composed of outstanding scholars from academic institutions in the Boston area, assists in the selection of topics for the program's learning activities and helps recruit the teachers for it.

Sequences presented in the Program have been:

"Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community" with Thomas O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College. February 3 - April 7, 1975.

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"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18 - November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975 - January 22, 1976.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College. November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

INTRODUCTION

During the fall of 1975 and on into the first month of 1976 Dr. William Robinson, Chairman of the Black Studies Program at Rhode Island College, presented a sequence of lectures on the black literary heritage of Boston, for the NEH Learning Library Program at the Boston Public Library. Professor Robinson focused on Boston in particular and New England in general and occasionally mentioned national and international connections as well. Figures of primary interest were Phillis Wheatley from the Colonial period, William Wells Brown of the nineteenth century, W.E.B. DuBois and William Stanley Braithwaite of the earlier twentieth century, and a number of modern novelists including Dorothy West and Bryant Rollins. The governing assumption of the sequence was that the various permutations in style and content of black Boston literature would be a useful index to the cultural and social life of the Boston community, both white and black. The following reading list is intended to introduce selected works which we hope will stimulate interest in the subject and lead the reader to further discoveries of his or her own.

Arna Bontemps, ed. Five Black Lives. Middletown, Wesleyan University Press, 1971.

This is a collection of ex-slave narratives which span 150 years in time, from 1729 to 1870, and some thousands of miles in geographical area from Africa to Connecticut. The autobiographies include the lives of Venture Smith, Africa; James Mars, Connecticut; William Grimes, Virginia; G.W. Offrey, Maryland; James L. Smith, Virginia. These narratives are the records of black Americans suffering under the oppression of slavery until he was impelled to escape. "My freedom is a privilege which nothing else can equal" is the central theme running through the narratives.

William Stanley Braithwaite. The William Stanley Braithwaite Reader. Philip Butcher, ed. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1972.

Philip Butcher presents a study of the career and reputation of William Stanley Braithwaite, the astute black critic and talented lyric poet whose editorial work gave impetus to the New Poetry Movement. The nearly 100-page reader consists of letters and samplings of verses representing not only ethnic literature but also American literature and areas of American civilization. The Reader projects the breadth of the author's talent and knowledge, his insistence upon the dignity of black Americans when the idea was novel in America. His poems, written in a traditional nineteenth-century lyric style have nothing to do with the life of the black man at that time. Braithwaite felt that racial themes were too limiting for the artist and that they tended more toward propoganda than toward art. Undoubtedly, he was the most influential black critic of American literature.

Benjamin G. Brawley, ed. Early Negro American Writers. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1935.

An invaluable anthology which Brawley originated in a desire to render more accessible for the student or general reader some productions of black American writings only to be found in special collections. This collection includes writings of black Americans from Jupiter Hammon who was born between 1720 and 1730 to approximately the Civil War time. Paul Lawrence Dunbar is not included in this anthology. The biographical and critical analysis which introduces each selection is excellent. One of the best sources for both the general readers and students who wish to acquaint themselves with black writers before the Civil War.

(Paperback edition available from Dover.)

_____. The Negro in Literature and Art. New York, Duffield & Co., 1918. (Also New York, Dodd and Mead, 1934.)

This book is devoted to the achievement of blacks in the field of literature and art. In separate chapters Professor Brawley gives interesting and well written sketches of Phillis Wheatley, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Charles W. Chesnut, W.E.B. DuBois and William Stanley Braithwaite. In the opinion of the author, the best known black orators were Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington. Other chapters in this work take up: the stage, painters, sculptors, music. There is an appendix devoted to black Americans in fiction. Though published in 1918 this work still remains an excellent source.

John Daniels. In Freedom's Birthplace. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1914. (Also reprint New York, Arno Press, 1969.)

An historical and sociological study of blacks in a Northern community, this work concentrates notably on the ghetto of Roxbury, Massachusetts. In his ten chapters, Daniels studies the slave, the patriot and the pioneer freeman. Other themes deal with the black church, the leverage of the ballot, economic achievement, and civil rights. These are typical themes that will apply to the studies of blacks in any community but the group of people and conclusion reached are quite different from almost any other community.

W.E.B. DuBois. Dusk of Dawn. New York, Harcourt Brace, 1940. (Also reprint New York, Schocken Books, 1968.)

An essay which is mostly autobiographical in nature of the noted black educator, historian, editor, writer and leader of his people in the fight against racial intolerance. A graduate of Fisk and Harvard, DuBois used his talent and skill to present the problems of prejudice and bigotry set up against the world of color. Actions taken against these restrictions are clearly presented. A penetrating and correct interpretation of black Americans and their problems by the prime mover of the black Americans. Those who are concerned about our American way of life and its future will find this account helpful.

_____. The Souls of Black Folk. Chicago, A.C. McClurg, 1903. (Also new edition, New York, Blue Heron Press, 1953.)

This literary classic undeniably holds its own among the great American books of our time. Though not widely read, no other book has had greater influence on black American thinking, and nowhere so passionately and lyrically is the black man's unique heritage and his kinship with all men described in full dimensions. This work aside from embodying a collection of historical and social essays also embodies DuBois' reply to the rhetoric and ideology of Booker T. Washington. Though written during the early part of the twentieth century in 1903, this work relating the black American experience in America is still germane today.

(Paperback editions available from Fawcett, Washington Square, and New American Library.)

_____. W.E.B. DuBois: A Reader. Meyer Weinberg, ed. New York, Harper & Row, 1970.

This anthology of essays, lectures, articles, notes and excerpts from the writings of W.E.B. DuBois--many of which have never been published before--stands as the powerful testimony of one of Black America's greatest scholars, spokesmen and organizers. Professor Weinberg has brought forth a fine comprehensive work of DuBois' writings. In this work Weinberg reveals in an extraordinary spectrum seven decades of DuBois' long, productive life as the man who helped found the Niagara Movement, the NAACP, the Pan-African Movement, black power and the Third World concept. An extensive bibliography of DuBois' published writings is included.

William Edward Farrison, William Wells Brown, Author and Reformer. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1969.

This is the most complete biography available of William Wells Brown, a fugitive slave, a prominent abolitionist, whose slave narrative was among the first of its kind and one of the most popular. Self-taught, Brown was one of the first black Americans to write a novel, Clotel, to pioneer black drama, and to attempt historical writing. All of this was done in the cause of abolition and equality. Farrison's detailed and highly documented biography is a valuable addition to the series of black American biographies and autobiographies.

Lorenzo Johnston Greene, The Negro in Colonial New England. New York, Columbia University Press, 1942. (Also reprint Port Washington, N.Y., Kennikat Press, 1966.)

This is a comprehensive and serious study of the conditions of black Americans in Colonial New England, 1620-1776. The author brings a fuller understanding of the African slave trade, the varied occupational roles of the New England blacks and the repercussion of this trade upon blacks and the Puritan institutions. Contrary to popular views about New England slavery, Greene reveals New England's brand of slaveholding and the lucrative business developed from this traffic by some of her proudest sons--the Hancocks, the Faneuils, and the Cabots. A scholarly work and deserves a wide reading.

(Paperback edition available from Atheneum.)

Leon F. Litwack. North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Though a brief work, the author presents a scholarly volume covering such topics as the social stratification of blacks, Irish-black relations, the important role of black religious leaders, and the efforts of white and black abolitionists to improve the condition of black Americans' lives. The book certainly ranks with the major works on the history of black Americans. The author's excellent bibliographical essay is of no small value.

(Paperback edition available from University of Chicago Press.)

Vernon Loggins, The Negro Author: His Development in America to 1900. New York, Columbia University Press, 1931. (Also reprint Port Washington, N.Y., Kennikat Press, 1964.)

A literary history which deals with the cultural development of black Americans from the period 1790 to 1900. Mr. Loggins has carefully and critically documented the works of more than two hundred black-American authors: poets, novelists, dramatists, and writers on theological and sociological subjects. The student as well as the general reader will find this book of great value for programs and studies under the rubric of black literature. An excellent classified bibliography adds much to the value of the book.

Floyd J. Miller. The Search for a Black Nationality: Black Colonization and Emigration. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1975.

The main theme of this study is black colonization and emigration during the period from 1787-1863. The author presents the various organizational efforts and the frustrations of eighteenth and nineteenth-century attempts by both black and white leaders of this ideology to lead expeditions of black Americans to resettlement colonies in Africa. The impressive documentation of this work gives assurance that this book will serve as a fundamental chronicle of the black emigration movement. The author's treatment of the leadership of Paul Cuffe and Martin R. Delany is excellent.

Benjamin Quarles. The Negro in the American Revolution. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1961.

This monograph by Professor Quarles, an outstanding and prolific black historian, a Bostonian and a graduate of English High, deals with Black American soldiers as participants in the continental armies, the navies, the militia of the states, and their services under the British flag. A scholarly and highly objective work, as the author reveals the various roles blacks played in the Revolution--some even served as spies. Black soldiers fought not only as revolutionaries for political independence but broadened their ideology to the struggle for freedom for all men. This study enhances both black history and the central body of American history.

(Paperback edition available from Norton.)

William H. Robinson, ed. Early Black American Prose. Indianapolis, W.C. Brown, 1971.

A collection of speeches and documents of black writers of the antebellum period frequently referred to but seldom read. The author presents material that contradicts the impression that black men and women submitted quietly to their oppression. Made available are such speeches as Banneker's 1791 letter to Thomas Jefferson; Booker T. Washington's fateful 1895 Atlanta compromise; Phillis Wheatley's famous letter to "His Excellency General Washington" along with the good general's reply; and the so-called confession of Nat Turner. Besides the familiar names--Wheatley, Douglass, Walker--Professor Robinson introduces less well-known men like Job Ben Solomon, Oludah. A very useful book for black studies and American literature.

_____. Phillis Wheatley: In the Black American Beginnings. Detroit, Broadside Press, 1975.

A brief appraisal of Phillis Wheatley's promising efforts to express black opinion within the prejudices on race and the strictures of society of the colonial period. Professor Robinson presents the details of Wheatley's life and the evaluation of her poetry from adherence to neo-classicism to her achievement as a singular poet of importance. The study is well-researched on careful reading of her various writings such as poems, letters, memoirs, and personal correspondence. A very useful introductory book for black studies and American literature.

(Paperback edition available from Broadside Press.)

Dorothy Sterling, ed. Speak Out in Thunder Tones. New York, Doubleday and Co., 1973.

This is the first of Sterling's projected three-volume documentary history that reveals the intellectual effort, social/political action, and personal achievement of black Americans in the North from the Revolution to the Civil War--1787-1865. The author presents samplings of letters, diaries, essays, and newspaper articles by black writers that uncover the social and cultural life of Northern blacks and challenge familiar assumptions: "Our parents made it without any help, why can't they?" The study is divided chronologically into six divisions, each of which is illuminated with documents and photographs of the period. A useful Biographical Directory of fifty significant black men and women follows the main divisions. Speak Out in Thunder Tones is a must for mature students or as a source material for a black studies program.

Phillis Wheatley. The Poems of Phillis Wheatley. Julian D. Mason, Jr., ed. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1966.

The position of Phillis Wheatley, the first significant black writer in American literature is still the subject of revision and new interpretations. This edition makes readily available not only her well-known work but also other extant poems and letters, some of which have never been included in any previous edition. Dr. Mason devotes the introduction to defining Wheatley's place in both the black literature tradition and American literature, the main value of these poems lies in what light they may throw on Boston's enlightenment of the eighteenth century and the character of the woman who wrote them.

Boston An Urban Community

Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of Nineteenth-century Boston

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
John Swan
with the assistance of
the Boston Public
Library Staff

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INTRODUCTION

In the syllabus for his course "Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston," Professor Martin Green described the series of lectures as "A survey of the great cultural achievement of 19th-century Boston, and a study of alternative meanings and manifestations of culture during the period." More than any other city in the growing and struggling America of the last century, Boston took the life of the mind seriously: there were more books, more serious readers of books, and more writers who were accorded not only esteem, but also real positions of power in society. Many great institutions--among them the Boston Public Library itself--were the direct result of Boston's commitment to an enriched culture in this period. The course centered, however, not only upon the triumph of Boston, but also upon its failure to sustain a healthy, unified culture under the pressure of the enormous social changes of the latter part of the century. Also important were the great anti-establishment movements that grew up in the shade of and in reaction to Boston society, in particular the Transcendentalist movement.

The books in the following pages are particularly important to this approach to the fascinating subject of Boston. The central book for the course was Professor Green's own The Problem of Boston, which is described in this list.

Adams, Henry. The Education of Henry Adams. Ed. with intro. and notes by Ernest Samuels. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974.

This is the autobiography, the "Study of Twentieth-Century Multiplicity," of a distinguished historian and descendant of one of America's noblest families. William James found in it "a hodge-podge of world-fact, private fact, philosophy, irony," despite his deep admiration of the book, and Adams himself implies in it that there are necessary difficulties: "No one means all he says, and yet very few say all they mean, for words are slippery and thought is viscous." This is, then, the challenging, illuminating personal history of a man forced to come to terms with the modern world with his identity rooted by birthright in "the First Church, the Boston State House, Beacon Hill, John Hancock and John Adams, Mount Vernon Street and Quincy." The work is not only a subtle examination of Adams himself, but also the environment of his lifelong "education," including Harvard of the 1850's, England and New England during the Civil War, and the new world of Darwinism and modern science. Ernest Samuels, the premier Adams scholar of our time, has provided voluminous and informative notes for this edition, which is his definitive collation of Adams' private edition of 1907 and the public edition of 1918.

(A paperback edition is available from Houghton Mifflin.)

Ballou, Adin. Autobiography of Adin Ballou. 1803-1890. Completed and edited by his son-in-law, William S. Heywood. Lowell, Mass.: The Vox Populi Press--Thompson and Hill, 1896.

"I have not been a man of much popular success, but in several respects a failure." Indeed, the principal causes espoused by Adin Ballou, the community of Hopedale and his campaign for "non-resistance," the religious noncooperation with the established government or any other medium for violence, did end in failure. The man is not to be judged by his "popular" success, however, and although this book has a musty and forbidding look to it, its pages reveal a vibrant and intensely interesting personality who brings to vigorous life his own development and the course of the religious reform movement in which he played a central part. When Ballou was nineteen years old he experienced a "memorable and ineffaceable vision" of his deceased brother Cyrus calling him to preach the Gospel; this set him in earnest on the path of spiritual struggle. Within a few years he became a successful Universalist minister in Milford, Mass., but his personal search for a faith that best conformed to his sense of the message of Christ was not over. Not a little of the value of this book is in its sharply etched account of the conflicts within and without the Unitarian Church of his day. Ballou's resolution upon "Christian Non-resistance" led finally to the establishment of one of the most important and long-lived (1842-1856) communal experiments of the last century. Hopedale was founded on a farm in Milford as a joint stock venture. The members engaged to abide by uncompromising standards of nonviolence and Christian love. Here is an important account

of the rise and fall of this enterprise, as well as of Ballou's wide-ranging interest in spiritual and philosophical matters--he was an early appreciator (and stern critic) of Tolstoy, who in turn read and was influenced by Ballou and other courageous pioneers in the movement to reorder the priorities of a deeply troubled nation.

Garrison, William Lloyd. Documents of Upheaval: Selections from The Liberator, 1831-1865. Truman Nelson, ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 1966.

This is a valuable anthology compiled from the pages of the little Boston periodical that was for more than three decades the most persistent, most important voice of the abolitionist movement--and nearly every other cause of humanitarian reform in the nation. The central figure here, of course, is Garrison himself, founder, publisher, editor, and principal writer (see the Kraditor listing), but many others, famous, infamous, or obscure writers for--or against--the cause of emancipation appear as they found their way into Garrison's paper. The moral accomodation to Southern slavery by the North is represented by an attack upon the troublesome Anti-Slavery Society by Harrison Gray Otis, pillar of Boston society. Southern pro-slavery arguments are also presented--and, like all the Northern voices of cooperation, subjected to Garrison's withering moral scrutiny. The rebellion of the slave Nat Turner is recounted here with Garrison's resounding refutation of the national press which blamed him as "the instigator of human butchery." The great abolitionist's writings against slavery and also in dispute with other leaders of the emancipation movement show him to

be fully aware of the implications of his stand, which was intransigent against both slavery and violence. Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, and Adin Ballou enunciate their agreements and differences in these pages, and certain necessarily anonymous free blacks are represented by powerful and vivid letters. The collection inspires a strong and concrete sense of the moral dilemma of the many and the moral courage of the few.

Green, Martin. The Problem of Boston: Some Readings in Cultural History. New York: W.W. Norton, 1966.

This is a profoundly original and penetrating analysis of the nature and development of Boston society's commitment to artistic and intellectual endeavor in the nineteenth century. With the aid of many contemporary accounts and some interesting statistics, Professor Green effectively counters the image of America in the last century as a place devoted entirely to westward hustle and bustle and offering no important space to the thinker and the artist: "In Boston the life of the mind was given an important and dignified place in the total culture." Any historian who neglects or rejects Boston is guilty of slighting a vitally significant element of nineteenth-century culture. The author gives Boston its due both in its successes and its ultimate failure to sustain itself as a whole and healthy society by approaching it through the personalities and achievements of two men, particularly Ticknor (see the Tyack listing below), "the aristocrat in a democracy," represented the best qualities of a social establishment committed to both the enrichment of the mind and the ideals of democracy. Charles

Eliot Norton, the great educator, standard-bearer for high culture, and central inspiration to Adams, James, Santayana, and Berenson, was the "aristocrat in plutocracy." Whereas Ticknor lived in and worked for a still broadly unified culture, Norton lived in a Boston in which the gulf between rich and poor was too great and fraught with bad conscience. For all his courage and his noble convictions, Norton refused to deal adequately with the harsher realities of the Gilded Age. In his study of these figures and others, notably James Fields (see Tryon below), the author provides compelling answers to the question, "What went wrong?" What were the forces which transformed a healthy literary culture into a collection of amiable fireside poets and world-weary aesthetes? The problem and its solution are enormously important to our modern society, as well as to our sense of the past.

(A paperback edition is available from Norton.)

Greenslet, Ferris. The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946.

The Lowells were among the Normans who accompanied William the Conqueror to England; they came to New England when Percival Lowle, a successful Bristol merchant incensed over royal injustice, set sail for Boston at the age of 67 with his family. That was in 1639; this book is the account of the eleven generations of American Lowells who from his time to ours have had a large hand in shaping the history of Boston, New England, and the United States. Here are vividly told lives of John Lowell, the "Old Judge," member of the Continental Congress and early abolitionist; John "the Rebel," brilliant Federalist leader and benevolent public servant;

Francis Cabot Lowell, the businessman and mathematician who memorized the secret design of the English power loom, improved upon it, and organized the New England cotton industry; James Russell Lowell, renowned poet, essayist, and political satirist; as well as Amy the poet, Percival the astronomer, and many other distinguished Lowells, who not only did not confine themselves socially to the company of God and the Cabots, but who expended themselves to an extraordinary degree in the service of their fellow men. Mr. Greenslet covers a large subject with grace and erudition, and he manages to illuminate both individual personalities and the broader movements of history.

James, Henry. The Bostonians. Intro. By Celia Townsend Wells. New York: Apollo Editions, 1974.

This is the author's only exclusively American novel, a harshly satiric yet richly ambiguous treatment of Boston culture and Boston feminism--female emancipation as observed through the sceptical eyes of Henry James. The central characters are Olive Chancellor, an intensely proper Bostonian committed to the cause of the downtrodden woman; her distant kinsman Basil Ransom, a young lawyer from the erring, defeated South; and beautiful, innocent, "gifted" Verena Tarrant, who becomes the protégée and friend in feminism of Olive, and the object of the chivalrous (and chauvinist) romantic intentions of Basil. The book has genuine passion as well as clever irony in its searching analysis of the personalities involved in the struggle between the narrowly intense way of reformer Olive and the warmer but also narrow approach of reactionary Basil. Along the way are many interesting glimpses of the life and attitudes of late nine-

teenth-century Boston and of James himself.

(Paperback editions are available from Modern Library, Penguin, Apollo Editions, and Bobbs-Merrill.)

Kraditor, Aileen S. Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850. New York: Pantheon Books, 1969.

This is an analysis of the anti-slavery movement in the years which saw the most decisive dialogue and conflict between ideologies within the movement. Professor Kraditor probes deeply into Garrisonian and anti-Garrisonian literature and effectively counters the position of the many historians who identify the entire abolitionist crusade with a tiny radical and/or transcendentalist minority within it: "Far from repudiating institutions, most abolitionists wished to purify them." Even the radical Garrison himself, Ms. Kraditor demonstrates, did not seek to impose his extreme position upon the American Anti-Slavery Society. The split in that organization actually occurred when its conservative elements sought to make abolitionism more widely attractive by rejecting the ideas of the radicals. Garrison emerges here, not as a mere crank who rejected compromise and thereby sowed the seeds of war, but as a reformer whose vigorous persistence helped create a general moral awareness which resulted in the rejection of the quietist acceptance of slavery. The book is both lively and scholarly, and it contains much of contemporary interest in its examination of the role of women in the movement and the role of radical reformers in establishment politics.

(Paperback edition available from Vintage.)

Lipman, Jean. Rufus Porter, Yankee Pioneer. New York, Potter, 1968.

Rufus Porter (1792-1884) was an itinerant painter of striking originality, a musician, and a visionary inventor of, among many other things, very plausible precursors of the automobile and the elevated railroad, a washing machine, an airship, a portable pre-fab house, and a revolving rifle, the design for which enabled Colonel Colt to create his revolver. As if this were not enough to assure his immortality, Porter was also the founder and first editor of Scientific American. For all his achievement, however, this Yankee individualist, who by nature and choice avoided the mainstream of Establishment culture, has remained virtually unknown to posterity, and this carefully researched study by a respected scholar of American art and folk culture constitutes a virtual rediscovery of a unique New Englander. In describing Porter's life, his works, and his careers--he was a farmer, shoemaker, teacher, builder, dancing master, and sailor, as well as painter, inventor, and journalist--Jean Lipman presents him as a brilliant example of the self-made man in the land of unlimited opportunity that was early nineteenth-century America. He, as much as anyone, embodied the "clear, free, original and inventive power of mind" considered by de Tocqueville to be characteristic of the Americans he described. The book is replete with color and black-and-white pictures of Porter's fascinating murals (many in the Boston area), his portraits, and his inventions.

Lynd, Staughton, ed. Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966.

This anthology was assembled and provided with an illuminating introduction by a man who has himself long been actively involved in the cause of radical nonviolent reform. It is arranged in such a way as to give a consecutive account of nonviolence in America, with careful attention given to an extremely broad range of religious, political, and social ideas which have found theoretical and practical expression in the movement. It begins with William Penn's wise and loving call for peaceful co-existence with the Delaware Indians and moves through American history up to the unrest of the mid-1960's. The Abolitionists are represented by the writings of William Lloyd Garrison, Adin Ballou, Thoreau, Wendell Phillips, and the "learned blacksmith," Elihu Burritt--all important figures in Boston culture. Several key essays are presented in full, such as Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience," William James' "The Moral Equivalent of War," and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "Pilgrimage to Non-Violence." Dr. Lynd includes a wealth of statements by people who have put their beliefs--and sometimes their lives--on the line. Among them are high school students and P.T.A. members engaged in the struggle for civil rights, peace marchers, conscientious objectors, and suffragists in prison, as well as well-known individuals, such as Clarence Darrow and Jane Addams. Each selection has its own short, informative introduction, and the whole is a wonderful tool for the first-hand documentary study of a part of history and of a great deal of courage.

(A paperback edition is available from Bobbs-Merrill.)

Morison, Samuel Eliot. Three Centuries of Harvard: 1636-1936. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

This is an eminent historian's one-volume account of Harvard's history, built upon the research that went into his monumental and official Tercentennial History, but not, however, a mere "digest" of that work: "In this little volume I am writing as an individual, and not as the official historian." This "little volume" is itself around five hundred pages of closely researched information, but it is a lively and engrossing work. Here are the life and times of the "earliest collegiate foundation in the English colonies," of the individuals who made it great—and more than a few of those who hindered it, including the first head of the College, Nathaniel Eaton, who was dismissed after a year in office for the over-industrious flogging of students and the undergenerous feeding of them. The school was established in a Cambridge cowyard and helped along by Eaton's friend, John Harvard, whose dying bequest of half his estate and all his library gained a footing for the school and immortality for himself. The list of men of service to Harvard is, of course, enormous, and Professor Morison does graceful and succinct justice to a remarkable number of them, beginning with the man who replaced Eaton, Henry Dunster, who was largely responsible for the College's salvation and early growth. The terms of especially notable presidents are recounted in some detail, especially those of the great John Leverett, "who founded the liberal tradition of Harvard University," and the finest of them all, Charles Eliot, under whose forty-year guidance the University advanced into the modern age. Great academic reformers, such as George

Ticknor, also have their achievements delineated here. The crises of war, religion, and finance are given clear and compact description in such a way as to demonstrate vividly that greatness has behind it centuries of struggle, devotion, and hard work.

Tharp, Louise Hall. Mrs. Jack. Boston: Little, Brown, 1965.

This is the biography of Isabella Stuart Gardner, who was both Boston's most flamboyant figure of high society and one of its most sensitive, generous, and dedicated patrons of the arts. The book presents a lively account of both aspects of her life, her dalliances and her diamonds on the one hand, her lifelong commitment to her cultural responsibilities on the other. The advent of Fenway Court, her greatest gift to Boston culture, is chronicled here, as are her friendships with such luminaries as Henry Adams, Henry James, John Singer Sargent, Charles Eliot Norton, and Bernard Berenson. The book is not only an arresting tale of an arresting lady; it provides an intimate look at the social life of the financially and culturally privileged men and women of the Gilded Age.

Thoreau, Henry David. Reform Papers. Ed. with intro. and notes by Wendell Glick. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.

These are the polemical writings of the man who is today perhaps the most widely honored and read of those who refused to march to the drum of nineteenth-century establishment society. It begins with "The Service," in which the twenty-three-year-old Thoreau already displays the

expansive imagery and vigorous independence that will characterize his mature work. All phases of his literary career are represented in this volume, including the most important anti-slavery tracts, "Slavery in Massachusetts" and those devoted to the actions and fate of John Brown; and the famous and influential statement on the primacy of the rights of the individual over those of the state, "Resistance to Civil Government" (or "Civil Disobedience"). The provocative lectures, "Life without Principle," and "Reform and the Reformers," left unfinished at its author's death, appear here, the latter for the first time in print. The introductions and copious notes concentrate on the circumstances of writing and publication, and the work as a whole conforms to the highest standards of scholarly editorship.

Thoreau, Henry David. Walden. Ed. with intro. and notes by J. Lyndon Shanley. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.

This is Thoreau's account of "two years and two months" in which "I lived alone, in the woods, a mile from any neighbor, in a house which I had built myself, on the shore of Walden Pond, in Concord, Massachusetts, and earned my living by the labor of my hands only." The particulars of daily economy, the cycle of nature, and the activities of the neighbors (birds and wasps as well as men) are here the objects of acute observation and rich thought: "I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived." This is an authoritative edition

of a great American classic, based upon the author's corrected page proofs and the first edition. Its notes and introductions provide much historical and textual background.

(Numerous paperback editions are available, including the above CEAA edition from Princeton University Press.)

Tryon, W.S. Parnassus Corner. A Life of James T. Fields, Publisher to the Victorians. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963.

Fields' career began when he left his home in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, at the age of thirteen to become an apprentice clerk at the Old Corner Bookstore, Boston. Twelve years later, he became a junior partner of a young publishing house which grew out of the same establishment, and in the meantime he had become a published poet himself and had persuaded his boss, William Ticknor (cousin to George), to introduce into the U.S. the Poems of the controversial Alfred Tennyson. Tryon gives an engaging account of the man who made the firm of Ticknor and Fields into the most distinguished publishing house in America. "Fields was the first to recognize what all publishers now know: that the secret of a successful book house was to play the part of the benefactor to the man of letters." This secret, applied with much charm and ability, made his firm the publisher to Longfellow, Holmes, Whittier, Lowell, Hawthorne, Emerson, Thoreau, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Tennyson, Browning, Dickens, and many, many others. More than publisher, Fields was friend and supporter to many--he was especially important to Hawthorne for example---and his life as literary arbiter and social lion in nineteenth-century Boston is told well here, with much of interest included about the generally amiable Boston literary environment.

Tyack, David B. George Ticknor and the Boston Brahmins. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1967.

George Ticknor's influence upon the intellectual life of Boston was such that some of his peers referred to the city as "Ticknorville." Professor Tyack's study concentrates upon the formation of Ticknor's richly enlightened and still deeply conservative character, and upon the expression of that character in his principal achievements: his courageous attempts to transform provincial and intellectually lax Harvard University into a serious and progressive institution of learning; his leading role in the founding of the Boston Public Library (see the following listing); and his work as a scholar, particularly his important and still-useful History of Spanish Literature. Through extensive use of the journals and letters of Ticknor and his friends, Tyack offers a strong sense of the particulars behind the moral, political, and intellectual concerns of cultured Bostonians forced to come to terms with the democracy's shift toward Jacksonian populism. Especially fascinating are the European encounters of the young Ticknor with the great men and women of the time, among them Metternich, Goethe, Southey, Wordsworth, and Mme. de Staël. Ticknor is convincingly portrayed here as a man dedicated to the loftiest ideals of culture and public service, yet devoted to a way of life that was doomed by the commercial and egalitarian forces of the growing nation.

Whitehill, Walter Muir. Boston Public Library. A Centennial History. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.

This is the "official" history of one of Boston's greatest institutions, but the official motivation does not prevent it from being a lively and fascinating account of the individual and collective effort that went into this landmark in the history of American public education. Mr. Whitehill begins his story with two wildly different personalities, both dedicated to the idea of a broadly based public library. The first, George Ticknor, was ultimately the man most responsible for establishing the Boston Public Library as a truly public library with a lending policy of unprecedented breadth and liberality; the second was Alexandre Vattemare, a "volatile little French ventriloquist" who wished to move from his triumphant stage career (Queen Victoria and Beethoven were among his fans) to a more permanent form of cultural endeavor, the founding of great libraries through cultural exchange programs. Both pioneers failed in their first attempts, but Ticknor persevered, and the story of his steadfast devotion, as well as that of Edward Everett, Joshua Bates, Herbert Putnam, Josiah Benton, and many others, is one of both Brahmin and democratic triumph. Here is the story of the building of Charles Follen McKim's architectural masterpiece, the Central Library in Copley Square. Walter Muir Whitehill, a distinguished historian who served as Director and Librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, brings a unique perspective to his account of the difficulties, controversies, and successes which accompanied the Library's creation and its advance into the mid-fifties.

Boston An Urban Community

The Emerging Immigrants of Boston

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Constance Burns
with the assistance of
the Boston Public
Library Staff

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Boston Public Library, 1977

FOREWORD

The Boston Public Library is pleased to present a series of annotated reading guides as a follow-up to the lectures in its NEH Learning Library Program, "Boston: An Urban Community."

The Library's program has been developed under the Cultural Institutions Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a new national program whose purpose is to help libraries, museums and other cultural institutions become centers of formal humanities education for their communities. An advisory committee, composed of outstanding scholars from academic institutions in the Boston area, assists in the selection of topics for the program's learning activities and helps recruit the teachers for it.

Sequences presented in the Program have been:

"Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community" with Thomas O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College. February 3 - April 7, 1975.

"Boston's Architecture: From First Townhouse to New City Hall" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 8 - March 29, 1975.

"Family Life in Boston: From Colonial Times to the Present" with Nancy Cott, Professor of History, Yale University. April 3 - May 22, 1975.

"Shaping the Boston Landscape: Drumlins and Puddingstone" with George Lewis, Professor of Geography, Boston University. April 8 - May 27, 1975.

"Revolutionary Boston: The Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" with Richard Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University, September 16 - November 4, 1975.

"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18 - November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975 - January 22, 1976.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College, November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

"The Emerging Immigrants of Boston" with Andrew Buni, Professor of History, Boston College. February 4, 1976-March 31, 1976.

INTRODUCTION

Boston's history is usually told in terms of the considerable accomplishments and occasional foibles of its Puritan, later Brahmin, leadership. Such an approach seriously distorts the realities of the city for it does not take sufficient note of the vast changes which have resulted from massive and prolonged immigration. This bibliography has been compiled to encourage study of a vital determinant of Boston's modern history.

"Immigration" is a term that stands for a very complex and paradoxical process, one that has been both enlarging and divisive for Boston, one that has offered challenges and opportunities to native Bostonians and immigrants alike, even as it provoked animosities. For immigrants it involved the severing of an existence in one society, resocialization--relearning of roles, adaptation of values--in a new one, and then integration, in however varied a fashion into the new society. For Boston it is the story of the impact of alien newcomers on existing institutions and values and patterns of living, of the mediation of tensions normative in a multi-ethnic society, of the expansion of the definition of Bostonian.

So that the reader may better understand the available work on immigrants in Boston, this bibliography is organized into six parts. Initially it considers the city on the eve of massive immigration; second, the "immigrant" or "first generation" experience of various national groups in Boston, listed in the sequence in which they appeared in Boston in significant numbers; then the politics, which in Boston has been the most visible facet of immigrant presence;

next, the responses of the city to the continuing demographic upheaval; fifth, patterns of assimilation into Boston; and finally, the social tensions which have resulted from immigration.

The books available on these topics provide a most incomplete picture of the whole complex process of immigration. Thus, before beginning a study of Boston's immigrants, students would benefit from familiarity with works on the general topic of immigration to America. Two recent examples of such works, each containing a comprehensive bibliography, have been written by two Englishmen: Maldwyn Jones, American Immigration (Chicago, 1960); and Philip Taylor, The Distant Magnet: European Emigration to the United States (New York, 1975).

This bibliography is an outgrowth of a Learning Library Program course given at Boston Public Library by Professor Andrew Buni of Boston College under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities in the winter of 1976. Those who have been Dr. Buni's students will understand when I thank him for his constant encouragement and goading, for the example of his ever-renewed delight in learning.

I The Eve of Immigration

Boston, we are told, was at its pinnacle circa 1840: the Athens, the cultural and moral center of the nation. Over two centuries old, the city still maintained much of its original sense of cultural cohesiveness. It had had little experience with massive immigration: the substantial non-English migrations of colonial times had gone to other colonies, and after the Revolution the city attracted only the small clusters of foreign born which were common to large commercial cities.

Ireland was at its nadir about 1840. Harshly oppressed for centuries by England, its native population had been deprived of most civil and economic liberties. Any hopes for betterment raised by the recent Catholic emancipation were being bitterly mocked by the presence of famine and plague which were to kill a million people and cause the emigration of a million more.

The arrival in Yankee Boston of these Irish led to a confrontation of two cultures, related to each other yet vastly separate, each tragically unprepared in its own way to meet the impact. This first immigration was unique in the city's history: never again would immigrants be so wretched, never again would the city be so unprepared for them. Because Boston was so noted for its cultural accomplishments and the immigrants for their misery, both have been well described.

Martin Green, The Problem of Boston: Some Readings in Cultural History. New York, 1966.
Ray A. Billington, The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860. A Study of the Origins of American Nativism. New York, 1938.
Peter Knights, The Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860. Afterword by Eric Lampard. New York, 1971.
Cecil Woodham-Smith, The Great Hunger, Ireland, 1845-1848. New York, 1962.

Martin Green, an English literary critic, analyses pre- and post-Civil War Boston in The Problem of Boston, using terms that are largely cultural. However, since he perceives culture to be highly relevant to the life of the society it graces, his insights have more than literary scope. The sense of an urban elite's proprietary pride in the accomplishments of the cohesive society is clearly drawn. His descriptions of Boston culture and society are familiar, but the relations he draws between their accomplishments and their shortcomings are original.

The reverse of this portrait of civic and cultural accomplishment was the religious animosity which had been endemic to the city for much of its existence. The original Puritan exclusiveness which had opposed all other faiths had given way to a newer Protestant inclusiveness which had identified itself with American patriotism, and saw Catholicism as a threat to that nationalism. This tradition which climaxed in the Know-Nothing Party of the 1850's is detailed by Ray A. Billington in The Protestant Crusade. In accounting for the strength of the movement, Billington does not give adequate consideration to other social tensions, but he does make clear the animosity which would be experienced by the large numbers of Catholic immigrants.

A presentation of the demographic characteristics of Boston during the ante-bellum period is given in

Peter Knights' Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860. Knights is primarily concerned with the extent of mobility of population in and out of the city, and has succeeded well in showing the great "churning" of Bostonians many of whom came from northern and rural New England. The valuable "Afterword" by Eric Lampard, a noted urban historian, defines the role of Boston in establishing the burgeoning New England industrial economy.

The outlines of the Irish famine are known, but a masterly recounting of the unfolding of the tragedy and its results, including emigration on mass scale, is in Cecil Woodham-Smith's The Great Hunger. The people she describes were those who came to Boston in numbers large enough to constitute a fourth of the city's population in 1850.

At the time of this compilation the following titles were available in paperback editions: Green, The Problem of Boston (Norton); Billington, The Protestant Crusade (Quadrangle); Knights, The Plain People of Boston (Oxford University Press).

II The Immigration Experience

The experiences of immigration are searing ones for those caught up in its great journeys, experiences marked by poignant and painful dislocations and resettlements. One of the most challenging of these points of abrupt change always occurs when immigrants arrive in a new society: aliens, they have to resocialize themselves, learn the values and imperatives of a new culture, even as they maintain some sense of personal integrity.

This "immigrant" of "first generation" experience is characterized by a paradoxical duality: a contrast

between limiting, constricting conditions and considerable innovation and energy within those confines. The limitations are well known and real: homelessness, poverty, lack of usable skills, poorest of jobs, discrimination, separation from the larger society. The strengths of the immigrant group are perhaps less accentuated but also real: the variety of formal and informal institutions which the travelers established to help themselves in resocialization: newspapers, financial institutions, philanthropic enterprises, churches and schools, fraternal organizations and friendship networks. The ability of the poor and the displaced to create subcommunities of variety and vitality amid their handicaps in Boston and elsewhere is remarkable.

This section considers what has been written on the experiences of each of the immigrant groups that appeared in Boston, in the order in which they appeared in significant numbers. These works deal with both the limiting nature of the first generation experience and with the growth of organization within the immigrant communities themselves.

IIA The Irish

Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation. Cambridge, 1941, 2d rev. ed., 1959.
Sr. Alphonsine Frawley, Patrick Donahoe. Washington, D. C., 1946.
Robert H. Lord et al., History of the Archdiocese of Boston. 3 v., Boston, 1945.
Donna Merwick, Boston Priests, 1848-1910: A Study of Intellectual and Social Change. Cambridge, 1973.
Roger Lane, "James Jeffrey Roche and the Boston Pilot," New England Quarterly, 33(September, 1960), 341-63.

Oscar Handlin's classic Boston's Immigrants depicts graphically the limiting, even harrowing, nature of the initial Irish immigrant experience in Boston,

as well as the interaction of the city with the alien newcomers. Handlin emphasizes the divisive and dependent nature of this immigration and thus views with some alarm the formation of a structured immigrant community, within what he conceived to be a unitary Boston culture. Because he is concerned with the strains that immigration placed on this older Boston culture, he obscures the larger significance of this demographic shift which should be seen as the beginning of a process that would substantially widen the definition of Bostonian, even as it would lead, in a nationwide context, to the development of modern American pluralistic society.

The Irish immigrant community that did form in Boston was able, because of its considerable numbers, to create an institutionally varied sub-culture, to serve their own needs and strengthen a new identity even as they learned Boston ways. To grasp the extent of immigrant institutions is to comprehend their efforts to resocialize themselves in an indifferent yet demanding new world. Patrick Donahoe was one of the most noted of the Irish immigrant leaders, but he would have his counterpart in all later immigrant groups. Publisher, banker, philanthropist, churchman: the broad extent of his activities was typical of the versatility of the leaders of later groups. The biography, Patrick Donahoe, by Sr. M. Alphonsine Frawley is limited by the inaccessibility of primary documentation, but is useful for understanding the dynamics of immigrants' communal structures.

Religious institutions have been among the most universal of immigrant institutions. The influence of secular, industrial society forced adaptation in religious practice, in the roles traditionally assumed by religious leaders, but in meeting these challenges churches were able to play an important part in immigrant life. The Catholic Church had al-

ready been established in Boston before 1840, and the impact of Irish immigrants on it is a major theme in the History of the Archdiocese of Boston by Rev. Robert H. Lord and others, and in Boston Priests by Donna Merwick. The former stresses the building of the institution over more than a century, the latter the changes in intellectual style over a shorter period, but both bear witness positively and negatively, to the effects of immigrants on the church and to the importance of the church to immigrant life.

Immigrant journalism was yet another facet of the immigrant subcommunity, and the Boston Pilot, organ of the Boston Irish, was one of the most notable of these papers. Guide and spokesman for immigrants vis à vis the larger city, the Pilot's mission was predicated on the continued existence of a predominantly immigrant community. When, by 1900, the Irish had begun to be a native born rather than a predominantly immigrant community, the Pilot would be speaking for and to a constituency with new needs, new responsibilities in Boston. Whether the editors of the paper, traditionally leaders of the immigrant community, would perceive this change in status, what guidance they would offer, is the concern of Roger Lane's "James Jeffrey Roche and the Boston Pilot." The article poses questions of adaptation of purpose which all immigrant groups would face as they shifted from immigrant to native Bostonian.

A paperback edition of Handlin, Boston's Immigrants (Atheneum) was available at the time of this compilation.

IIB The British Canadians

Rowland Berthoff, British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950. Cambridge, 1953.

Albert Kennedy, "The British Canadians in Boston" unpublished mss., Harvard Archives.

Leon Truesdell, Canadian Born in the United States. An Analysis of Statistics of the Canadian Element in the Population of the U.S., 1850-1930. New Haven, 1943.

From 1870 to 1940 British Canadians, largely from the Maritime Provinces, came to Boston in numbers great enough to make them the second most numerous immigrant group in the city. To the census takers they were immigrants, but should they be so classified in a cultural sense? Sharing common linguistic, religious, political traditions with the native Bostonians, possessing skills to facilitate economic mobility, they traveled a very short way, geographically and culturally.

Yet however close to native Boston culture they were, British Canadians shared with other immigrants some sense of being foreign, some need for a group life. Rowland Berthoff includes them with other British immigrants in his study of British Immigrants in Industrial America. Because the book focuses on industrial occupations, it fails to show the wide range of British Canadian occupations from the professional to the unskilled, but it does give examples of their group life, in Boston among other places, which include lodges, newspapers, and participation in group conflict. Identifying strongly with the Protestant dimension of native Boston society they were caught up in the religious tensions of the late nineteenth century and sided notably with the native religion even while they kept distinct the other facets of their identity. (See section VI)

With the diminishing of these tensions after the turn of the century, British Canadians' public role in Boston diminished as well, though many continued to maintain a separate social existence.

An intimate portrait of these British Canadians in Boston in the years before World War I was written by Albert Kennedy, an associate of social worker Robert Woods at South End Settlement House. He was fascinated by the distinct social patterns which many maintained as young single people often clustering in the South End, and the ease with which they usually assimilated into Boston life after they had married.

Theirs was an immigrant experience with very few limiting aspects, yet they maintained group identity in their settlement patterns in and about Boston. Statistics on this and other facets of their immigration patterns to the United States generally are found in Leon Truesdell's Canadian Born in the United States.

IIC Germans

Francis X. Weiser, S.J., Holy Trinity Parish, Boston, Massachusetts, 1844-1944. Boston, 1944.
Roswell Phelps, South End Factory Operatives, Employment and Residence. Boston, 1903.

The German immigration to Boston proceeded slowly and steadily throughout the nineteenth century; at its height about 1890 the Germans comprised about 7% of the city's foreign born population. Coming from a modernized nation, they brought occupational skills and values which facilitated their economic absorption into the city, but they maintained a German identity and institutional life for several generations. Partly from smallness of numbers, partly from general acceptance by Bostonians, they seemed in no way disposed to ruffle the life of the city; even that endemic New England crusade, prohibition, to which they were culturally opposed, did not provoke them to public acrimony. Glimpses of them as devoted churchgoers may be seen in their church-affiliated cultural

activities in Fr. Francis Weiser's Holy Trinity Parish. Glimpses of them as skilled workers, much admired by Boston observers, may be found in Roswell Phelp's brief study of the South End Factory Operatives.

But it is only in fleeting glimpses that they may be seen by later Bostonians. The Germans had a relatively open immigrant experience. Few in numbers, they added to, but in no way challenged, existing Boston social structure and values. They conformed, in short, to the traditional view of an immigrant group's role in the new society.

IID German Jews

Albert Ehrenfried, A Chronicle of Boston Jewry from the Colonial Settlement to 1900. Boston, 1963.
Arthur Mann, ed., Growth and Achievement: Temple Israel, 1854-1954. Cambridge, 1954.
Barbara Solomon, Pioneers in Service: A History of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies of Boston. Boston, 1956.

Unlike most American towns of the colonial period, Boston had had no Jewish synagogue. Not until the coming of small numbers of Jews among the German migrations of the 1840's did an organized Jewish life exist in Boston. A narrative of the institutional life of both German and Eastern European Jews before the twentieth century is in Albert Ehrenfried's privately printed Chronicle of Boston Jewry. Like other Germans the German Jews made the economic and cultural transition to Boston with little difficulty, maintaining their religious-cultural identity while adapting economically and socially to the Boston milieu.

Eager to conform to Boston, a modern world in which they felt much a part, many German Jews sought to adapt the externals of their religion to American customs through the adoption of Reform Judaism. For some, this identification with modernity led further to a call for abandonment of the old religious "divisiveness" and the adoption of new universalistic social creeds such as socialism or secular humanism. Arthur Mann's commemorative volume on the centennial of the founding of Temple Israel, Growth and Achievement: Temple Israel, 1854-1954, describes both of these tendencies in the activities of two early leaders, Rabbis Solomon Schindler and Charles Fleischer. Their Reform congregation rejected the socialism of the former and the secularism of the latter as they struck a balance which combined religious integrity with cultural assimilation.

Even as German Jews were probing the parameters of assimilation with native Bostonians they were striving to unite the factions and segments of Jews into a community. The arrival of tens of thousands of Eastern European Jews, the growing fragmentation into congregations and benevolent organizations, threatened the achievement of a common identity. Using traditional concern for communal charity as their catalyst, German Jews sought to establish institutional coordination, no easy task, as Barbara Solomon demonstrates in Pioneers in Service, the story of the first half century of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies in Boston.

Interlude. Boston, 1900: The Inner City.

Robert A. Woods, ed. The City Wilderness: A Settlement Study by Residents and Associates of South End House. Boston, 1898; New York, 1970.

Robert A. Woods, ed. Americans in Process: A Settlement Study by Residents and Associates of South End House. Boston, 1902; New York, 1970.

Frederick A. Bushee, Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston. New York, 1903, 1970.

John Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace: A Study of Boston Negroes. Boston, 1914.

Half a century after the first wave of immigration had reached Boston, a second and more massive one was already making itself felt in the city. Of the older immigrants the Irish were still the largest in number and were beginning to assume political power (Section III). Within the group, differences based on economic mobility began to be visible as a middle class, native born but still identifiably Irish, began to appear. Even as they and other groups began to meld into the city's life, huge numbers of new peoples from Eastern and Southern Europe were coming to Boston.

The challenge posed by these alien peoples in the great cities caused native middle-class Americans to assume the task of aiding in their Americanization, notably by living among them in settlement houses to offer guidance and to mediate between them and the larger city. Boston's pioneer social worker was Robert Woods, and it is thanks to him and his associates at South End House that we possess splendid descriptions of the immediate life and the larger significance of immigrants and others in the inner city in the early years of the twentieth century. In their City Wilderness and Americans in Process they achieved a completeness of detail and a sense of immediacy available nowhere else in the literature. The often blunt, unsparing descriptions of the immigrants with their peculiar (to these middleclass observers' eyes) characteristics are harsh, even racist and condescending, to modern readers, but the dedication of these

people to the task of telling their fellow Bostonians of the strangers in their midst mitigates the harshness.

The South End associates produced other works of interest as well. Phelps' South End Operatives has been mentioned in section IIC, and Woods' and Kennedy's Zone of Emergence will be reviewed in section V. Frederick Bushee's Ethnic Factors is a more limited work which focuses on differences between immigrant groups in such matters as mortality, vitality, and other contemporary Darwinian concerns. John Daniels' In Freedom's Birthplace results from a white social worker's activities among Boston blacks. The history of blacks in Boston, coming from a tradition different from that of immigrants, deserves separate consideration; Daniels' book is included here as one of the useful South End Settlement House publications.

IIE Eastern European Jews

Robert Woods, ed., Americans in Process. Boston, 1903.
Golde Bamber, "Russians in Boston," Lend-a-Hand, 8 (1892), 168-172.
Mary Antin, The Promised Land, Boston, 1912, 1962.
Arnold Wieder, Early Jewish Community in the North End. Waltham, 1962.

In sharp contrast to the German Jews were their co-religionists from Eastern Europe who came to Boston in large numbers beginning in the 1880's. In their European environments they had been marked as suspect, limited in social roles, accustomed to a ghetto existence. Aliens in their old countries, they were marked as aliens in Boston as well. The harsh environmental realities and the particular cultural strengths of Jewish life in the North End are depicted in Woods' Americans in Process. An early effort by German Jews

to assist these newcomers in their adjustments to Boston is told by Golde Bamber, who was herself involved in this early example of in-group charity.

Another contemporary account is by Mary Antin who was brought as a child by her family from Russia to Boston. Her family's existence in Boston was a tenuous one, noteworthy for the consistent failures of her father's petty business ventures and for the disintegrative nature of immigrant life which she details poignantly in The Promised Land. She was able to transcend these limitations through her intellectual talents which won her the patronage of sensitive native Bostonians eager to uncover the promise among the aliens in their city. For Mary Antin the great lesson of immigrant life was the abandonment of old habits including traditional religion and the belief in a new universal community of all men.

Such was not the response of most of the Eastern European immigrants however. A retrospective account which stresses the strengths of that immigrant community is provided in Arnold Wieder's Early Jewish Community in the North End. His volume is based on the reminiscences of those who had lived as children in this early Boston home of Eastern European Jews. Although warm with nostalgia and lacking the sense of struggle present in contemporary accounts, the book is valuable for an understanding of the sources of the vitality which immigrants brought with them, of their great desire to find a place in this new city.

Antin, The Promised Land (Houghton Mifflin), was available in paperback as of the date of this compilation.

IIF Italians

Robert A. Woods, ed. Americans in Process. Boston, 1903.

William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society. Chicago, 1943.
Herbert Gans, Urban Villagers. New York, 1962.
Walter Firey, Land Use in Central Boston. Cambridge, 1947.

Italians began to arrive in Boston in significant numbers in the 1890's and have continued to do so with such consistency that they are now the largest group of foreign born in the city. Despite the size and duration of their migration to Boston, the Italians' experiences in Boston have been inadequately chronicled. Woods' always valuable Americans in Process describes Italian immigrants as native Bostonians saw them, but there is no chronicling or analyzing of their institutional development, occupational, geographical, value changes in Boston. Sociologists have composed portraits of segments of the Italian community at particular moments in recent times, but they are ahistorical in nature.

William F. Whyte wrote Street Corner Society in 1940 to prove that there was organization in immigrant slums, places in which many sociologists had assumed only anomic individualism existed. After living for months in the North End, Whyte came to see the order present in the street life of young men, in the rackets, and in politics. He saw the ordered community of the North End principally in terms of frustration and deviance, in the very limited access to the larger world. He emphasized the limitations of the immigrant experience: with social work dominated by Yankees and politics by the Irish, with economic opportunity stagnant from the effects of the prolonged depression, many Italians by 1940 felt constricted in their immigrant experience.

Herbert Gans also lived among Italians in Boston--after World War II in the West End-- and his portrait

is considerably more balanced in that he considers their lives from a much larger perspective of the family and peer group. Focusing on these as the bases for a very stable social order, Gans can only mourn the bureaucratic arrogance that decreed so arbitrarily the destruction of their area. He portrays a particular kind of prolonged immigrant experience in which people were acculturated to the larger society in their familiarity with language, mass media, occupational structure, yet felt themselves to be at a considerable distance from it.

Walter Firey also was intent on proving a theory when he investigated the North End together with other areas in the inner city. His results, in his Land Use in Central Boston, point to the importance of a central place for immigrant groups, an area to serve as a symbolic focus as well as a common area for merchandise and sociability. Just as Beacon Hill had a particular kind of relationship that gave it value, so the North End had its own traditions in the sense of ethnic clustering to those who lived there and to those who lived in the metropolitan area.

Paperback editions of Whyte, Street Corner Society (University of Chicago Press), and Gans, Urban Villagers (Free Press), were available as of the date of this compilation.

II G ...and Others from Europe

Robert Mirak, Armenians in the United States, 1890-1915. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1965.

The previous listing of European immigrants only begins the chronicle; the stories of so many more immigrant groups to Boston remain to be told.

Greeks, Syrians, Poles, Lithuanians and many others have maintained strong group identities for at least a significant part of the original number and their descendants, yet have occasioned rather little public awareness. The American Bicentennial coincides with the growing awareness of the persistence of ethnic identities in Boston; various groups have produced city and state ethnic festivals. The Massachusetts Bicentennial Committee and the Mayor's Office of Cultural Affairs are channels for people who are knowledgeable about the many ethnic subcultures which exist in and around Boston. The detailing of their experiences in the city over time awaits the work of interested people, scholars and amateurs alike, who will do the interviewing, read the immigrant press, seek out the institutional records, trace residential patterns.

For this bibliography the dissertation of Robert Mirak, Armenians in the U.S. 1890-1915 will serve as a model. Although dealing with Armenian migration generally it is useful for Boston because so many Armenians came to Boston and its surrounding industrial cities. The work covers immigration topics well: causes of migration, vicissitudes of the journey, occupations, group life, value adaptation and retention. With a cutoff date at the beginning of World War I, the author can only allude to the fuller development of the Armenian community in Boston and its subsequent removal to the suburbs.

IIH Post 1950: Chinese and Spanish Speaking

Rhoades Murphey, "Boston's Chinatown," Economic Geography, 28 (July, 1952), 244-55.

Charles Sullivan and Kathlyn Hatch, Chinese in Boston. Boston (ABCD), 1970.

Adriana Gianturco and Norman Aronin, Boston's Spanish

Speaking Community: Findings of a Field Survey. Boston (ABCD), 1970.

The years after 1950 have seen a resurgence of immigration to Boston and the creation of new or greatly enlarged immigrant communities. The Chinese were able to come in gradually increasing numbers after 1950, an increase which reflected a gradual change in attitudes of Americans toward Orientals. All racial barriers to their immigration were removed in 1965. Numbering 2000 in 1950, their population increased to 8000 in 1970 and is estimated at 15,000 by 1976. The appearance of the Spanish speaking in this city stems from a new destination in an older migration pattern from the Caribbean to the United States, one which had heretofore not been directed to Boston. By 1970 the number of Spanish speaking in Boston had climbed to more than 18,000 and is still increasing.

The material available on these new immigrants is largely based on the results of social surveys which give important demographic data but little sense of the structure or texture of the lives of the people. Gianturco's and Aronin's Boston's Spanish Speaking Community describes this population as young, coming from traditionally undeveloped areas, and posing a challenge to the social agencies and to the city generally.

Rhoades Murphey's article "Boston's Chinatown" describes the history of the area and of the traditional Chinese community there just at the moment when the postwar immigration was being first felt. The gradual opening of the gates to Chinese women and children meant the beginning of a balanced immigrant community which would wish greater contact with the city than the older, male, inward-looking enclave had traditionally been accustomed to.

The increase which came in continually growing numbers in the years since 1950 have resulted in this more balanced population now living almost entirely outside of the old Chinatown area; in 1970 only 2000 of the 8000 Chinese in Boston were able to live there. Sweeney and Hatch's Chinese in Boston uses data from Chinatown, however, when they report that although some of the massive problems of other immigrant groups were not evident among the Chinese, still the traditional immigrant disabilities of poverty, overcrowding, linguistic problems, intergenerational tensions are present.

III Politics

In its inception immigrant politics represented another facet of immigrant group life, a marshalling of group solidarity behind a local politician, much as the community would support their own journalists or clergymen or embryonic businessmen. Unlike other immigrant institutions, politics was not apart from the mainstream institution but directly linked to it, albeit at a lowly level. If group strength could coalesce enough, and if immigrant leaders were astute enough, then their purely supporting role could be transformed into a directing one--and could become a challenge to one of the city's most important coordinators of power.

Unlike the situation in many cities, immigrant politics in Boston began as, remained for a century as, an Irish concern. Having to confront the city as its only major immigrant group by the Civil War--retaining that role well into the twentieth century-- brought disabilities to the Irish, but it also gave them the dominant role in the politics of immigrants. This power was built slowly, shaped by Yankee reformers, thwarted by religious stress, but

by 1900 the Irish could contest native Bostonian politicians as equals. Politics in Boston was strongly colored by an immigrant/old stock polarization which often ran to bitterness. A sense of legitimacy was never quite accorded immigrant politics.

Leslie Ainley, Boston Mahatma. Boston, 1949.
Albert Van Nostrand, "The Lomasney Legend," New England Quarterly, 21(Dec., 1948), 435-50.
Joseph Dineen, Ward Eight. New York, 1936.
John Buenker, "The Mahatma and Progressive Reform: Martin Lomasney as Lawmaker," New England Quarterly, 44 (September, 1971), 397-419.

The initial development of immigrant politics--of the rise of local leaders, of the attainment of a few city jobs, of the tutelage of some Yankee Democrats-- in the years around the Civil War has been little studied. But by the 1880's growing immigrant group consciousness and organizational strength enabled leaders to determine city-wide policy in conjunction with Yankee Democrats, to install significant numbers of their followers in the civic bureaucracy, to barter with extra-governmental city powers like the utility companies. But their constituents were still largely immigrants in the central city.

Martin Lomasney, legendary leader of Ward 8 in the West End, represents this phase in immigrant political development. His base remained among the poor and the immigrants, Irish, Jews, Italians, of the central city, yet his influence was felt on all larger political decisions. Never able to attain city-wide power for himself, his half century of rule in the North and West Ends marked the classic era when the boss played a vital role in organizing the lives of immigrants. His politicized humanitarianism and astute sense of realpolitik have been the theme for most works on him: Leslie Ainley's routine Boston's

Mahatma, Albert Van Nostrand's brief but useful article in the New England Quarterly, Joseph Dineen's novel, Ward Eight.

Originally Lomasney and other city bosses were considered by scholars and reformers to be corrupters of the politics and people of great cities. After 1950 this assessment was modified by growing awareness of their humanitarian concerns and functional value in organizing rapidly growing cities. Now John Buenker reconsiders them still further and sees them as active governmental reformers as well. He uses Martin Lomasney for a test case in his 1971 article in the New England Quarterly.

Ward 9 in the South End was the base of another immigrant politican who was a contemporary of Lomasney's, Smiling Jim Donovan. An inveterate opponent of Lomasney's in city political warfare, outgoing rather than taciturn, less a political maverick, Donovan's external differences with Lomasney should not obscure the similarities of their roles in assisting the needs of their constituents. A quite unsentimental portrait of Donovan and of the men who voted for him is given in Robert Woods' City Wilderness. Woods, unlike many social workers, was eager to work with politicians, rather than disdaining them, for the aid of their common constituents. While deploring, in proper fashion, the use of patronage, Woods was keenly aware of its overriding utility to the immigrants of his district.

Edwin O'Connor, The Last Hurrah. Boston, 1956.
Joseph Dineen, The Purple Shamrock. New York, 1949.
James M. Curley, I'd Do It Again: A Record of All My Uproarious Years. Englewood Cliffs, 1957.
William Shannon, The American Irish. New York, 1963.

James M. Curley was of the generation that follow-

ed Lomasney's even though their careers overlapped. Coming at the time when the Irish had the numbers and the skill to dominate city politics, Curley represented a majority in the city that was part immigrant and part middle class. In his half century of political influence his most consistent identification was with the immigrants of all groups, with the poor of the inner city. A man who engendered and encouraged bitter controversy in his public life, he acquired the stature of a statesman in the years after World War II when scholars began to comprehend city bosses' roles as surrogates for a civic welfare administration, and when novelist Edwin O'Connor immortalized a character like him, who challenged native intolerance with verve and slashing wit. The Last Hurrah is Curley's apotheosis. In the general consensus of this period a Curley biography and autobiography appeared: The Purple Shamrock by Joseph Dineen and I'd Do It Again by Curley himself.

The limiting aspect of immigrant politics in Boston is stressed by William Shannon in The American Irish. While paying full tribute to the difficulties of the Irish role in Boston, Shannon faults Curley's politics for dealing in "fantasy, invective and showmanship" rather than in realistic challenges to establishment institutions.

The Last Hurrah (Bantam), by O'Connor, and The American Irish, by Shannon, were available in paperback at the time this pamphlet was prepared.

Elijah Adlow, On the Threshold of Justice, A Judge's Life Story. Boston, 1973.

Other immigrant groups were involved in city politics besides the Irish, but most often they have been cast in supporting roles. Elijah Adlow was the son of a Jewish immigrant who lived in Roxbury, went

to Harvard, and had a subsequent career in politics and the law, becoming a noted justice on the Boston Municipal Court. His political story in On the Threshold of Justice is as much a tribute to Yankee-Republican political power based on statewide institutions as it is to the existence of strong minority group political power.

IV Responses of the City

Nathan Huggins, Protestants Against Poverty: Boston's Charities 1870-1900. Westport, Conn., 1974.
Arthur Mann, Yankee Reformers in an Urban Age. Cambridge, 1954.
Eleanor Woods, Robert A. Woods, Champion of Democracy. Boston, 1924.
Allen Davis, Spearheads of Reform: Social Settlements in the Progressive Movement 1890-1914. New York, 1967.

The basic assumption about immigrants was that they, as other Bostonians, would have access to the opportunities of the city; using these opportunities they would make their own way. Some did not; unskilled rural people caught in an imperfectly functioning economy were often unable to rise out of poverty and dependence, and immigrants came to mean in many cases paupers. The growth of this population and of charity institutions to aid the most desperate of them was often justified by citing the needs of Massachusetts' industry.

In the years following the Civil War charity, public and private, became increasingly centralized and efficient, and pauper immigrants were often recipients of this charity. The spirit in which much of it was given caused John Boyle O'Reilly to write of "charity, scrimped and iced, in the name of a

cautious statistical Christ". It also caused Nathan Huggins to write about Protestants against Poverty which discusses the limiting assumptions of charity work in Boston, though it does not allude to its recipients.

The continued growth of industrialism and its attendant dislocations caused some native Bostonians to seek a new society based on universalistic reforms; socialism whether Christian, Marxist, transcendental, or communal, was only one of these alternatives. Immigrants as workers were included in those to whom the appeals were made. Arthur Mann has described the small galaxy of reformers who offered new paths for social redemption to Bostonians in his Yankee Reformers in an Urban Age. Immigrants, like most Bostonians, rejected these appeals: Boston at all levels was a very conservative city. Mann's first two chapters contain valuable vignettes of immigrant leaders John Boyle O'Reilly and Solomon Schindler.

A new optimistic perspective of immigrants as potential Americans in need of assistance from native Americans brought forth the settlement house movement in the private sector of the city, and expanded educational and health services from the city itself. Rather than pinched charity or social panaceas, immigrants were offered in the 1890's practical assistance in resocialization from middleclass Americans who came to live among them in settlement houses. Boston's leading figure was Robert A. Woods who lived at South End House from 1894 until his death thirty years later. His career is told by his wife in her Robert A. Woods, Champion of Democracy; it is put in larger perspective in Allen Davis' Spearheads of Reform; the settlement movement is given a less eulogistic perspective in Sam Warner's valuable preface to Woods' own Zone of Emergence (Section V).

Paperback editions of Mann, Yankee Reformers in an Urban Age (University of Chicago Press) and Davis, Spearheads of Reform (Oxford University Press) were in print at the time of this compilation.

Barbara Solomon, Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition. Cambridge, 1956.
Commonwealth of Massachusetts, The Problem of Immigration. Boston, 1914.

Whatever the assumptions of the city concerning them, immigrants continued to come to Boston in ever greater numbers until by 1910 70% of the city was composed of first and second generation immigrants. The presence of so large an alien population with their multiplicity of needs caused a slowly growing number of Bostonians to see immigration as beyond burden or opportunity, rather as problem, threat.

During the tensions of the pre-Civil War era in Boston, the Know Nothing Party had not enlisted the social elite of the city to any great degree. By the 1890's, however, the response of the city in opposition to immigration was inspired by Brahmins, intellectuals, and Brahmin intellectuals. The Immigration Restriction League began in the 1890's representing a coalition of the Boston social elite concerned with preserving traditional values and an intellectual elite espousing fashionable theories of racial superiority. This particularly New England kind of immigration restriction agitation is described by Barbara Solomon in her Ancestors and Immigrants.

This elite-intellectual, "proper Bostonian" kind of agitation would not of itself have been able to change the long-standing American tradition of unrestricted immigration had not more widely based concerns also been present. The numbers and variety of

immigrants, coming each year in the millions, caused them to be seen as a problem; growing industrial unrest caused them to be seen as potentially radical. Moved by this dual concern the Massachusetts Legislature created a special commission to study the Problem of Immigration. Headed by Grace Abbott, noted Chicago social worker, the Commission's report contains valuable information on immigrant conditions in Massachusetts, and calls for state action in assisting in that once automatic process of Americanization.

The Department of Immigration and Americanization was established by the Commonwealth and is still in existence, issuing useful annual reports, maintaining offices throughout the state. With the ending of unrestricted immigration in 1924 it has carried out its work in relative obscurity. Discussion of national immigration policy waxed and waned until in 1965 immigration to the United States was allowed without racial or national quotas, to the extent of about 300,000 a year. This has brought increasing numbers of immigrants to Boston, but they have become most visible in a new role as members of minority groups.

Solomon's Ancestors and Immigrants (University of Chicago Press) was available as a paperback as of the date of this pamphlet.

Mass. State Advisory Committee to U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Issues of Concern to Puerto Ricans in Boston and Springfield. Boston, 1972.
South End Project Area Committee (SEPAC), Special Housing Committee Report. Boston, 1975.

The civil rights movement, originally black-oriented, has come to include other minorities' concerns in its activities. Expanded governmental agencies, such as the Commission on Civil Rights, have

investigated conditions and initiated action to aid minorities. An example of this is their Issues of Concern to Puerto Ricans. The recency and fluid nature of the Puerto Rican migration to Boston has made it difficult to evolve a common strategy by the various governmental agencies to assist them.

Local activities for self-help in immigrant areas, once usually detached from the decision-making of the city, have become increasingly powerful with the growth of the participatory democracy of the 1960's. Where the city had earlier been able easily to demolish immigrant areas (as for example in Gans' Urban Villagers), pressures from inhabitants forced the city and its Redevelopment Authority (BRA) to cooperate with residents of immigrant, low-income and minority areas such as the South End before making policy decisions. The SEPAC Special Housing Committee had members from the Chinese, Spanish-speaking communities on its staff as well as blacks and middle-class white Bostonians. A particular achievement detailed in their Report was the formation of the Emergency Tenants Coalition (ETC), largely Spanish-speaking, and their sponsorship of housing ventures. Immigrants as minorities, as low-income people, as ethnically identified, now have links to the city bureaucracy, to activists, and to the academic community which enlarge immigrant influence immeasurably.

V Assimilation into Boston

In contrast to the limiting nature of the immigrant experience, assimilation involves the widening participation in the life of the city by these immigrants and by their descendants. This process is not a simple, one-dimensional change that ends with the development of uniformly similar Bostonians. Rather, among individuals and among groups, there are sub-

stantial differences in the rates and patterns of economic advancement, geographic dispersal, retention of ethnic-religious identity, assumption of public roles. Once considered to be a simple and almost unnoticed conclusion to the process of immigration, assimilation is now seen as a complex and visible refashioning of both the immigrants and the established society.

The following works deal with some of the ways in which immigrants and Bostonians adapted to one another; they allude to ways in which immigrants became Americans in Boston.

Stephan Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970. Cambridge, 1973.

Jobs are a basic immigrant need. Immigrants' initial lack of marketable skills, of knowledge of job markets, of linguistic ability consigned them to the most limited, the lowest of job opportunities. One measure of immigrant assimilation would be their movement out of these beginning occupations. Such a measurement was made by Stephan Thernstrom in his large scale statistical study of The Other Bostonians. His sample population of 8000 Bostonians included immigrants and their children; thus he was able to measure occupational mobility of immigrants vis à vis native Bostonians, intergenerational rates of mobility among immigrants themselves, and differences in mobility among immigrant groups. Initially disadvantaged when compared to native Bostonians, immigrants did experience increased mobility over time, though as Thernstrom shows, there were significant differences among groups.

The Other Bostonians was in print as a paperback from Harvard University Press at the time of this compilation.

Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, The Zone of Emergence: Observations of Lower-Middle and Upper Working Class Communities in Boston, 1905-1914. Abridged and edited with a preface by Sam Bass Warner, Jr. Cambridge, 1962.

William Marnell, Once Upon a Store: A Biography of the World's First Supermarket. New York, 1971.

Jane Jacobs, Death and Life of Great American Cities. New York, 1961.

That hallmark of immigrant experience, areas of immigrant residence and congregation ("ghettoes") also limited the contact of immigrants with the larger Boston society. Settlement workers like Robert Woods were pleased when immigrants began settling in significant numbers in areas such as Charlestown, South Boston, Dorchester, because they considered these to be areas where immigrants could emerge into a fuller participation in the common life of Boston. In describing these areas of assimilation, these Zones of Emergence, Woods and his associate Albert Kennedy delineate with their detailed concern, everyday life and its larger implications in these areas. Their reaction to life in these areas was mixed: pleased with living conditions so much improved from those in the center of the city, they were nonetheless dismayed at what seemed to be the continued lack of civic cultural participation, any sense of group purposefulness.

These areas with their very parochial concerns have long been important parts of Boston and have been long misunderstood. This parochialism had as its reverse a warmth and a stability which offered much to people who lived in these neighborhoods which were only partially linked to the life of the city. For some of their inhabitants there would be mobility into middleclass occupations and neighborhoods; for others there would be a sense of camaraderie in an ongoing community. William Marnell, who lived in Dor-

chester and attended those quintessential Boston institutions, Public Latin School, Boston College, Harvard University, has written in Once Upon a Store of this supportive way of life, as seen through his very nostalgic eyes. He described in impressionistic fashion the pleasures of the predictable patterns of daily life which had eluded the usually perceptive Woods.

The Italian dispersion from immigrant neighborhoods in the inner city to "zones of emergence" north of Boston has not been traced, but within the North End itself a delightful form of assimilation occured. The North End changed from an isolated, immigrant area portrayed earlier by sociologists into an integral part of the city. The growing prosperity and falling population of the post 1950years caused the North End and its people to approach Boston norms for environment and jobs, even as the area retained its immigrant color and cohesion. The charm and social stability of the area and its people caused imaginative students of the modern American cities like Jane Jacobs to cite the neighborhood in her Death and Life of Great American Cities as an archetype of true urbanity. Bostonians have come to agree heartily with her judgment.

Paperback editions of Woods and Kennedy, The Zone of Emergence (M.I.T. Press), and Jacobs, Death and Life of Great American Cities (Vintage), were available when this pamphlet was written.

Myron Kaufmann, Remember Me to God. Philadelphia, 1957.
Albert I. Gordon, Jews in Suburbia. Boston, 1959.
Morris Axelrod et al, A Community Survey for Long Range Planning: A Study of the Jewish Population of Greater Boston. Boston, 1967.

Assimilation could mean immigrant abandonment not only of a general alien persona but also of the ethnic and/or religious identities which had originally been parts of that persona. For some immigrants the adoption of a new identity was what they had come to America to achieve; for others such a course represented the abandonment of an ancient heritage of special value. For some Boston Jews the attractiveness of the Boston-Yankee-Harvard version of the American identity was very compelling. In his novel Remember Me to God Myron Kaufmann allows his hero to be tempted to adopt this course of assimilation. Rebuffed by native Bostonians and suffering a growing awareness of loss, Richard Amsterdam is able to chart a course toward assimilation that does not involve abandonment of the traditional faith. Although written in 1957 the novel takes place in the early 1940's, for it was during the two decades after the ending of unrestricted immigration in 1924 that much assimilation took place through the gradual diminution of old ethnic-religious loyalties.

After 1945, however, integration into Boston and America began to be increasingly coupled with reassertion of these older loyalties. The suburbanization of these years, with its increasing openness, affluence, and mobility led Jewish leaders to fear a significnat move away from the traditional group consciousness. Albert Gordon surveyed Jews in suburbia, many of whom lived in Boston's suburb of Newton, and concluded that they were maintaining their traditional identity amid the comfort of suburban surroundings, even as they were increasing their participation in that new society.

In order to continue to serve this greater Boston Jewish community now so dispersed from its older city setting, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies commissioned Morris Axelrod to determine areas of new Jewish

settlement together with the social profiles of these Jews. This Axelrod did in his sophisticated Community Survey for Longrange Planning, which is very useful for locating Jewish areas of settlement and assimilation characteristics.

Edwin O'Connor, The Edge of Sadness. Boston, 1961.

Edwin O'Connor viewed the children and grandchildren of immigrant Irish in Boston in the 1950's and detected an Edge of Sadness in their lives even as they became quite assimilated into Boston society. The older generation of the Last Hurrah had established themselves in an indifferent or hostile society with the utmost effort, but their descendants had contented themselves with maintaining the comfortable roles their forbears had established rather than seeking out new areas of concern in the city. For O'Connor absorption should include more of a social role in Boston for the assimilated Irish.

VI Societal Tensions

All societies have tensions which relate to their population. Boston, with its strong traditions and its peoples of various backgrounds, has had its share of tensions originating in this diversity. The integration of so many peoples into the social-economic structure of the city has been an uneven, sometimes a frustrating process even as it has been a constantly ongoing one. The resentments resulting from the need continually to strive for place in Boston have usually gone unrecorded, being considered simply a facet of everyday reality. Sometimes, however, such tensions have become sharp enough to appear in the organized competition of politics or the disorganized confrontation of violence.

George Wilson Pierson, "The Obstinate Concept of New England: A Study in Denudation," New England Quarterly, 28(March, 1955), 3-17.
Lois Merk, "Boston's Historic Public School Crisis," New England Quarterly, 31(June, 1958), 172-189.
Arnold Foster and Benjamin Epstein, Troublemakers. New York, 1952.

By the twentieth century Boston's people were over two-thirds first and second generation immigrants; political power had passed decisively to these immigrants and their children. Although native Bostonians continued to dominate the cultural and financial institutions, their sense of displacement was keen, bitter, and long-lived; it provided the base for some of the underlying current of old stock/new stock separation in the city. As late as 1955 George W. Pierson, noted Yale historian, felt this sense of loss of an ancestral home in his article, "The Obstinate Concept of New England." By this time, however, it was becoming evident to Pierson and other observers that Boston retained significant amounts of Yankee heritage and Yankee leadership.

Animosities which focused on religion have long been present in Boston. Beginning with the nativism of the pre-Civil War era, Protestant-Catholic tension has waxed and waned in the city. The threat of Irish Catholic dominance of the politics of the city in the 1880's inspired a religiously-motivated political movement to deny Catholics public office. Led by some British Canadians who identified with the native American religious traditions, this political animus was effective for more than a decade. Lois Merk describes its inception in her "Boston's Historic Public School Crisis."

Christian-Jewish animosities have formed another facet of religious tension in the city. The elite-

intellectual variant of anti-semitism, visible in the years at the turn of the century, has been described in Ancestors and Immigrants by Barbara Solomon. When it has involved other immigrant groups rather than a native elite, anti-semitism has occurred in the form of street violence, often Irish led. A virulent example, related to national and foreign tensions, connected with the movement of Fr. Coughlin, occurred in the late 1930's. A lesser instance of post-war anti-semitic street violence is detailed by Forster and Epstein in the Troublemakers.

William F. Whyte, "Race Conflicts in the North End of Boston," New England Quarterly, 12(December, 1939), 623-642.

Francis Russell, "The Coming of the Jews," Antioch Review, 15(March, 1955), 19-38.

Yona Ginsburg, Jews in a Changing Neighborhood: The Study of Mattapan. New York, 1975.

The shifting of ethnic dominance in particular areas considered as "belonging" to a group has often been a source of tension in Boston. When William F. Whyte was living in the North End in the late 1930's he became aware of the violent history of Irish-Italian tensions centering for several decades on the North End. Originating in the changing of populations at the turn of the century, the animosity had continued in an increasingly stylized form decades later. Whyte describes this in his article "Race Conflicts in the North End." Only time has seemed to mellow the feud.

Mattapan is on the suburban fringe of the city rather than in the inner core, but it too has experienced this kind of tension. Francis Russell lived there in the years before 1920 when it had been a predominantly Yankee area, and witnessed its transformation into a large Jewish zone of emergence. In his informal article "The Coming of the Jews" he

describes the native distaste with the impending ethnic change; their response was to move out, en masse. (A related memory is his sense of cultural shock at confronting immigrant Jews at Latin School, desperately eager to escape the limitation of the ghetto through education. Here again he describes the native recoil.)

This same Mattapan became the focus, a half century later, for still another awkward shift of population when the last of the old Jewish inhabitants confronted blacks moving into the area from their former inner city homes. Many of the older Jews interviewed by Yona Ginsburg in her Jews in a Changing Neighborhood experienced the distress which is so common a reaction to this kind of group change.